

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
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FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3941  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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FOR DALLEY

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SHUM  
SUBJECT: ROUND-UP: WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM  
AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

REF: (A) GENEVA 13181 (B) GENEVA 12637 (C) GENEVA 13182  
(D) GENEVA 12981 (E) GENEVA 12670 (F) GENEVA 12632

1. THE WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION MAY HAVE BEEN DOOMED FROM ITS INCEPTION.  
HISTORY DID NOT AUGUR WELL FOR SUCCESS: THE U.S. DECIDED  
IN 1975, FOLLOWING ADOPTION OF RES 3379 (ZIONISM/RACISM),  
NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DECADE; OTHER WESTERN STATES  
CONTINUED THEIR PARTICIPATION BUT RELUCTANTLY. THERE  
WERE DIFFICULTIES IN DECIDING ON A SITE FOR THE MEETING  
AND DELAYS IN SETTING UP THE SECRETARIAT, WHICH MEANT  
INADEQUATE PLANNING.

2. ALTHOUGH THE NINE AND SEVERAL OTHER WESTERN STATES  
HAD HINTED EARLY ON THAT THEY WOULD WALK OUT IF THE  
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ZIONISM/RACISM ISSUE WAS RAISED, IT APPEARS THAT THE THREAT  
WAS SO VAGUE THAT NOT MANY UN MEMBER STATES TOOK IT  
SERIOUSLY. ALSO, THERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN LIMITED OR  
NO CONTACT BETWEEN THE WEO'S AND THE NON-ALIGNED PRIOR TO  
THE CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AND ARR-  
IVE AT COMPROMISES. HAD SUCH CONTACT BEEN MADE IT MAY  
HAVE IMPRESSED UPON AFRICANS AND OTHERS THE SERIOUSNESS

OF THE WEOS REGARDING THE ZIONISM PHRASEOLOGY. WITH THIS BACKGROUND, WHEN ZERO HOUR ARRIVED AND THE CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED, NONE OF THE DELEGATES KNEW WHAT TO EXPECT, NOR COULD THEY ANTICIPATE THE FINAL OUTCOME.

3. THE WEOS - FROM WHAT THE MISSION HAD BEEN TOLD THE WEOS WERE IN DSARRAY. WITHIN THE GROUP, THE EC NINE WAS A SEPARATE ENTITY. OUTSIDERS WERE KEPT IN THE DARK ABOUT THEIR DECISIONS. WESTERN MEETINGS WERE DELAYED OR CANCELLED BECAUSE THE NINE, WHO HELD THEIR MEETINGS PRIOR TO WEO GATHERINGS, COULD NOT ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THEIR MODUS OPERANDI.

4. THIS LACK OF CONSENSUS AMONG THE NINE IS BLAMED ON IRELAND. WHILE MOST OF THE EC GROUP HAD CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT WALKING-OUT OF THE CONFERENCE, IRELAND WAS RELUCTANT TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH AN ACTION.

5. THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE TWO WEEK CONFERENCE THIS ISSUE WAS UNRESOLVED. THE NINE'S PROBLEMS SPILLED OVER INTO THE TOTAL WESTERN GROUP, LEAVING AUSTRALIA, CANADA AND NEW ZEALAND UNCLEAR AS TO WHAT ACTION WOULD EVENTUALLY BE TAKEN. IN ADDITION, THE NINE, ALTERED THEIR STRATEGY ALMOST DAILY BUT NEW PROPOSALS WERE NOT ALWAYS CLEARLY CONVEYED TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN GROUP, LEAVING THEM SOMETIMES ANGRY AND ALWAYS FRUSTRATED. THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATION DELAYED SYNCHRONIZATION OF AN AGREED UPON PLAN OF ACTION UNTIL THE FINAL HOURS OF THE CONFERENCE.

6. NOT BEING ABLE TO NEGOTIATE AMONG THEMSELVES MAY HAVE PREVENTED NEGOTIATION WITH THE THIRD WORLD, OR CERTAINLY MADE IT DIFFICULT. THAT THE WEST REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE IS A BELIEF STRONGLY HELD BY THE SECRETARIAT, THE HRD AND THE AFRICANS. WHAT WAS DISARRAY AND DISENSION AMONG THE WEO'S MAY HAVE BEEN TRANSMITTED TO THE OTHER SIDE AS A REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE, PARTICULARLY SINCE NO OVERTURES HAD BEEN MADE TO THE THIRD WORLD, PRIOR TO THE CONFERENCE, REGARDING ANY KIND OF COMPROMISES. IN DEFENSE OF THE WEST, IT SHOULD BE NOTED, THAT WEOS FELT THEY HAD CLEARLY CONVEYED THEIR POSITION. SOME WEOS WERE EVEN OPTOMISTIC, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE IN THE BELIEF THAT A COMPROMISE WOULD BE WORKED OUT BY MODERATE AFRICANS. FINALLY, THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT, AND IRELAND DECIDED TO WALK-OUT WITH THE NINE, AUSTRALIA, CANADA AND NEW ZEALAND. NORWAY AND ICELAND DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE PLENARY AND AUSTRIA, FINLAND, SWEDEN AND SWITZERLAND VOTED AGAINST THE FINAL CONFERENCE

DOCUMENT. GREECE, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN WERE WESTERN  
DROP-OUTS.

7. THE AFRICANS - THE AFRICANS WANTED A CONFERENCE ON  
RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.  
SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY THEY WERE PERSUADED, BY THE ARABS,  
TO INCLUDE ZIONISM LANGUAGE IN THE DECLARATION. MISSION  
GENEVA WAS TOLD THAT THE NIGERIANS AND GHANIANS WANTED  
TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE WESTERN STATES BUT WERE HESITANT  
"TO STICK THEIR NECKS OUT" SINCE THE WEST APPEARED RIGID  
AND NOT INTERESTED IN COMPROMISES. IN ADDITION, IT IS  
RUMORED THAT THE ANGOLANS THREATENED TO WALK-OUT OF THE  
AFRICAN GROUP IF THE ZIONISM/APARTHEID LANGUAGE WAS  
DELETED FROM THE DECLARATION. PERHAPS FOR THE SAKE OF  
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FOR DALLEY

AFRICAN UNITY, OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF PERCEIVED WESTERN  
INTRANSIGENCE, OR BECAUSE OF ARAB PRESSURE, THE AFRICANS  
DECIDED TO REMAIN WITH THEIR LONG STANDING FRIENDS - THE  
NON-ALIGNED AND NOT FIGHT FOR A CONSENSUS DOCUMENT.

8. THE ARABS - C.V. NARASIMAHN, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE EXPRESSED DESPAIR THAT THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION IS POISONING THE UN (REF A). HE SAID IT IS INTRODUCED IN ALL UN FORA WHERE IT CREATES DISSENSION. IT SERVED TO FURTHER POLARIZE THE WEOS AND THE AFRICANS. ALTHOUGH MODERATE ARABS WERE TRYING TO MODIFY THE OBJECT-IONABLE LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC, IT IS ALLEGED THAT THEY WERE COVERTLY SUPPORTING THE HARDLINER ARABS. MISSION GENEVA CANNOT VERIFY THAT THE MODERATES PLAYED A DUAL ROLE BUT IT SEEMS THAT THEY DID LITTLE NEGOTIATING WITH THE WEOS - PERHAPS BECAUSE THE WEST DID NOT PRESENT A UNITED FRONT; POSSIBLY BECAUSE THEY SUPPORTED THE HARD LINE ARABS OR POSSIBLY, LIKE A MAJORITY OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS, THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THE WEST WOULD ACTUALLY WALK-OUT.

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9. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ARE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN ACTIVE AND BUSY CREATING PROBLEMS. THEY FIRMLY SUPPORTED THE FINAL DECLARATION AND PLAN OF ACTION FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF THEIR PROPOSAL (REF B) BUT ACCORDING TO SEVERAL DELS, THEY TRIED AT THE END, FEARING THE CONSEQUENCES OF A WESTERN WALK-OUT, TO INTRODUCE AN AMENDMENT TO THE DECLARATION WHICH WEOS COULD VOTE IN FAVOR OF. THIS EFFORT WAS LOST BECAUSE OF THE RULING OF A STRICT CHAIRMAN (REF A).

10. THE NON-ALIGNED - MISSION DOES NOT HAVE A CLEAR PICTURE OF WHAT ROLE NON-ALIGNED DELS, AS A GROUP, PLAYED AT MEETING. THE SRI LANKAN DEL, REPRESENTING THE NON-ALIGNED, ATTEMPTED, UNSUCCESSFULLY, TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE AFRICANS AND WEOS. MOST NON-ALIGNED DELS APPEAR TO HAVE GONE WITH THE TIDE, AS DID THE BANGLADESH DELEGATION (REF C) BECAUSE THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE WAS SUCH THAT THEY FELT THEY COULD NOT VOTE AGAINST THE FINAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT.

11. THE LATIN AMERICANS - THIS REGIONAL GROUP WAS IGNORED BY ALL SIDES DURING THE CONFERENCE. ONLY WHEN THEY INTRODUCED THEIR LAST MOMENT AMENDMENT TO THE DECLARATION (REF D) DID THE WEST AND AFRICANS REALIZE THAT THEY BOTH MAY HAVE LOST AN OPPORTUNITY FOR COM-PROMISE AND CONSENSUS ON THE FINAL DOCUMENT. THE LATINS, WE ARE TOLD BY THE DANES, WERE ANNOYED BY THIS NEGLECT AND HAVE COMMENTED ABOUT IT IN RECENT DAYS.

12. THE CHINESE - FROM WHAT THE MISSION HAS LEARNED, THE CHINESE ALLIED THEMSELVES WITH THE NON-ALIGNED AND, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE VERBAL BATTLE, WITH THE

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SOVIETS (REF E), PLAYED NO MAJOR ROLE DURING THE CONFERENCE.

13. THE SECRETARIAT - THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE (C.V. NARASIMAHN) AN OLD UN PRO WHO BROOKED NO CHALLENGE TO HIS AUTHORITY EVIDENTLY FELT THAT THE ONLY ROLE THE SECRETARIAT COULD AND SHOULD PLAY WAS TO PROVIDE A DRAFT DECLARATION AND A DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION. BOTH DOCUMENTS ACCORDING TO NARASIMAHN WERE NOT COMPLETELY ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST OR TO THE NON-ALIGNED (REF A). NARASIMAHN, AS WELL AS SANON, (DEPUTY CDIRECTOR OF HRD) FELT THAT THE WEST WAS UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE, THUS LEAVING THE SECRETARIAT IN A POSITION WHERE IT COULD NOT ACT.

14. THE BUREAU - THE CHAIRMAN MOLAPO (LESOTHO) WAS, ACCORDING TO ALL REPORTS, INEFFECTIVE. THE WESTERN VICE CHAIRMEN (CANADA AND ITALY) ACCEPTED THE POSTS RELUCTANTLY AND AT THE LAST MINUTE. MISSION HAS NO CLEAR PICTURE OF WESTERN ROLE IN THE BUREAU, BUT IF THE SAME TENSE ATMOSPHERE PREVAILED IN THE BUREAU AS IN THE CONFERENCE, NO NEGOTIATIONS WERE POSSIBLE BECAUSE THERE WAS NO EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION.

15. THE UNITED STATES - THE UNITED STATES WAS MISSED. SOME OF THE WESTERN MEMBERS BELIEVE WE WOULD HAVE PROVIDED LEADERSHIP IN THE WEO MEETINGS, CREATED A UNITED FRONT AND NEGOTIATED WITH THE NON-ALIGNED.

16. THERE WAS BITTERNESS EXPRESSED ABOUT OUR ABSENCE, AS WELL AS THE BELIEF THAT, EVEN THOUGH NOT PRESENT, WE CONTROLLED THE CONFERENCE (REF F). THERE WERE EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT WE WOULD KEEP ABREAST OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AND JOIN IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECADE PROGRAMS. NARASIMAHN, ON THE OTHER HAND, THOUGHT WE WERE WISE NOT TO PARTICIPATE SINCE WE WOULD HAVE BEEN

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OBLIGED TO WALK-OUT BECAUSE OF THE ZIONISM LANGUAGE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

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17. ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE,  
WE ARE STILL MEMBERS OF THE UN AND CONCERNED ABOUT  
PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM. FINDING SOME  
RESOLUTION WHICH CLEARLY STATES OUR OPPOSITION TO  
APARTHEID MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN EASING TENSIONS IN THE  
THIRD COMMITTEE.

18. THE THIRD COMMITTEE - UNLESS THERE ARE NEGOTIATIONS  
BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE AFRICANS PRIOR TO THE CONVENING  
OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE  
ATMOSPHERE WHICH EXISTED AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE WILL  
CARRY OVER TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. COMPROMISES  
MIGHT BE POSSIBLE BUT ONLY IF COMMUNICATION IS ESTABLISHED  
WELL IN ADVANCE OF THIRD COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF THE  
WORLD CONFERENCE. VANDEN HEUVEL

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## Message Attributes

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